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October 1969

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS -- SEVENTH CONGRESS

The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the largest and most important of the communist international fronts, will hold its Seventh World Congress from October 17 - 31 in Budapest. According to a WFTU announcement of June 15th, 548 delegates are expected, representing 185 trade unions from 124 countries and 33 international organizations. WFTU has invited non-affiliated, non-communist organizations with which it is seeking closer contact, including its principal rival, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Confederation of Labor (WCL -- formerly the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions).

The Seventh Congress will be the first mass gathering of WFTU members since the organization was torn by dissensions over the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, when its Secretariat gravely embarrassed the Soviets by issuing a public protest. Since dissensions over Czechoslovakia persist and other potentially divisive issues exist in WFTU, there has been speculation that this meeting would be postponed. However, WFTU has never failed to hold a world congress every four years since its founding congress in 1945 (making it the only one of the communist international fronts to adhere to a regular schedule of meetings of representatives of its full membership), and apparently the organizers of the Seventh Congress are confident that WFTU has weathered the past year with its organizational strength sufficiently intact.

The Agenda for the Seventh Congress is:

1. The role, duties and responsibility of WFTU and trade union organizations for the establishment of workers' unity in the struggle for social progress, for trade union and democratic freedom, for national independence and against exploitation by monopolies, imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.
2. The situation in Vietnam.
3. Trade union problems in developing countries.
4. Trade union organizations and technical and scientific progress.
5. Changes in WFTU statutes.
6. Auditor's report.
7. Document for trade union orientation and action.
8. Elections.

Elections

Election of officers is one of the most important items on the agenda this year. Inherent in any important changes in leadership will be the

issue of WFTU's reaction last year to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. On August 23, 1968, two days after the Warsaw Pact troops entered Czechoslovakia, the WFTU Secretariat issued a public statement denouncing the intervention. In September the WFTU Secretariat refused to participate in the East German trade union congress and asked instead that the congress intervene with the East German government to withdraw its troops. Despite heavy pressure from the Soviets, WFTU's Secretary General, Louis Saillant (France), refused to reverse his position and, from the Soviet standpoint, made matters worse by publishing a signed editorial in the WFTU organ, "World Trade Union Movement," on the need for socialist states to respect the principle of non-intervention in each other's internal affairs.

At the WFTU Executive Committee meeting in May 1969, Saillant officially announced his retirement "for reasons of health." Although there had been reports for some months that Saillant had a heart attack shortly after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, it is widely assumed, and hinted publicly in the press (Le Monde, June 1-2; see also attached Vorwärts article), that Saillant is retiring at Soviet insistence because of his opposition to their action in Czechoslovakia. There are also widespread rumors that WFTU's President, Renato Bitossi (Italy), will be ousted and replaced by Shripat Amrit Dange (India), a WFTU vice president who supported the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. In fact, the Soviets may well insist on a thorough shake-up of the WFTU leadership, going beyond Saillant and Bitossi.

#### A United Front of Labor

A major theme of the Seventh Congress is to be how WFTU can build and lead a united front of labor. On April 4, through an article appearing in the Soviet trade union newspaper Trud, WFTU's Deputy Secretary General, Pierre Gensous, called upon WFTU delegates to invite all non-affiliate trade unions to the Seventh Congress. Since the Sixth Congress four years ago (when WFTU put extraordinary stress on a united front policy), Gensous said, "we have witnessed further consolidation of international trade union unity. Contacts between trade unions of the Socialist countries and of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU) have become more frequent. Recently the WFTU has considerably improved and consolidated its relations with the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), the all African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) and the Permanent Congress of the Working People of Latin America (CPUSTAL)." Indeed, WFTU has met with some success in this direction. How meaningful this success may prove remains to be seen, for neither the AATUF nor the CPUSTAL has shown itself to be very effective.

ICATU and AATUF have proved to be particularly vulnerable targets (see attachment). In the Arab world, WFTU has won an agreement from ICATU to form a permanent committee that is to plan Mid-East trade union conferences jointly sponsored by WFTU and ICATU. ICATU's sponsorship will virtually guarantee that WFTU's activities in the Middle East will draw better participation from Arab trade union officials than WFTU could muster on its own. The WFTU's major thrust in African labor at present is toward a unified Pan-African labor organization. Steps to merge the AATUF and the more moderate African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC) have been applauded and encouraged by the Soviets. At the same time, the WFTU is making a concerted effort to increase its own contacts with and influence over the

AATUF. They probably hope that a merger of the two African unions will produce a somewhat more viable organization which they can then attempt to manipulate to their own ends. Probably in an effort to strip away as many affiliates as possible from the ICFTU, the Soviets have (publicly at least) taken the position that the hoped-for single pan-African labor movement should not be affiliated with non-African or international labor groups. Of course, they may very well pursue this policy on the surface, thus hoping to undercut ICFTU affiliates, and at the same time press behind the scenes for African affiliation with the WFTU. With the admission to WFTU last May of trade union groups from Nigeria and Congo-Brazzaville, there are now eleven African members of WFTU.

In Western Europe also, WFTU has had significant, if less spectacular success in gaining entrée to non-communist groups. The European Economic Community (EEC) recently recognized a joint secretariat established in Brussels by WFTU's two large West European members, the Italian CGIE (Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro) and the French CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail). At the 7th Congress of the CGIL, which was held in Livorno June 16-21, CGIL General Secretary Agostino Novella pointed to this recognition as an important step toward building trade union unity, and he announced that the CGIL will work for the setting up of a permanent committee of West European unions whose members would remain affiliated to the various international trade union groupings. Novella also announced that the three Italian unions -- CGIL, CISL, and UIL -- had recently reached an agreement.

In Latin America, WFTU is seeking to exploit current political issues through CUPSTAL, whose representatives met with WFTU leaders in Prague in May 1969 to organize a series of common actions. They announced that WFTU and CUPSTAL will begin plans for a Latin American Conference in Support of Nationalization of Natural Resources. The first step taken toward building up to this continent-wide conference was a meeting in Lima, Peru, August 28 - 30 in Support of Nationalization of Peruvian Petrol. Despite efforts by the WFTU-CUPSTAL organizers to gain the support of Latin American nationalists, the meeting was poorly attended and attracted virtually no publicity except for one local news item which attacked the meeting as a communist front. This dismal start is not likely to discourage the WFTU from again seeking to use what could be a new exploitable avenue toward the Latin American left.

SAILLANT: More Emphasis on Legitimate Union Work

The drive for trade union unity, however, has helped bring to the fore a divisive issue in WFTU. In an editorial in "World Trade Union Movement," No. 5, May 1969, Saillant highlighted WFTU's success in enlarging its role in the work of the UN's International Labor Organization (ILO). He claimed credit for WFTU for initiating the ILO's international convention #100, on equal pay for equal work, and he proposed that WFTU initiate another international labor convention that would guarantee literacy for workers. Saillant pointed out that inasmuch as the ILO is a natural gathering place for trade unions of all types, it provides WFTU with opportunities for carrying

out common actions with other trade union groups, if WFTU emphasizes topics they will support.

The point of Saillant's editorial was that WFTU must begin to devote more attention to genuine trade union issues, as its West European members have been doing. He saw severe drawbacks in concentrating on political issues, particularly those of international significance, as WFTU has done throughout its history and is continuing to do in the rest of the world. The West Europeans' tactics, although showing success, remain highly controversial in WFTU, as constituting a step toward fragmenting the tightly controlled organization.

#### The Reform Movement

The key issue which is expected to come before the Seventh Congress is a proposal to increase the freedom of action of WFTU members on the national and regional level, and to give formal recognition to "regionalism" by decentralizing the WFTU power structure. The proposal was advanced at the Sixth Congress by the Italian CGIL and had the backing of a relatively small but significant faction in WFTU, principally the West Europeans, who made it plain then, four years ago, that they felt WFTU has been excessively preoccupied with international politics and should pay more attention to true labor issues. This group argued that to be effective WFTU must allow its members to pursue labor policies within the context of their own area's social and economic conditions. Specifically, what the West European group wanted was to channel WFTU activities in their area towards acquiring for the communist trade unions a powerful voice on labor issues in the European Economic Community (EEC). Instead, they were being saddled with programs designed basically for the furtherance of Soviet foreign policy. The issue produced a compromise at the Sixth Congress. The Soviets refused to permit any decentralization of WFTU's power structure, but did agree to a greater regional variety in its policies. The Sixth Congress approved increasing WFTU's contacts with non-communist trade unions for the building of a united front of labor, but postponed a decision on changing the organization's statutes.

The Italian-led faction was not satisfied with the compromise and has continued to press for reform. The chief stumbling block has been the Soviet Union, which dominates WFTU, manipulates it behind the scenes, controls its finances, and represents, via the Soviet trade union federation, the AUCCTU, 60% of the total WFTU membership. At the last WFTU General Council meeting held in East Berlin in December 1968, Alexander Shelepin, chairman of the AUCCTU and vice president of WFTU (as well as member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) dismissed the incipient reform movement, saying "We believe that there are no reasons for us to make radical -- I emphasize radical -- changes in the aims, tasks, character and orientation of the WFTU or to carry out a far reaching decentralization of the federation." Indeed, Shelepin saw WFTU's role in quite a different light: "... as before, the main task of the WFTU remains the comprehensive defense

and support of the world socialist system." Clearly, the Soviets were in no mood for a new compromise with the WFTU faction that was most disaffected by their invasion of Czechoslovakia, and which had embarrassed them publicly.

Six months later the WFTU Executive Committee, meeting in Bucharest in May, adopted a lengthy WFTU position paper for presentation to the Seventh Congress entitled "Document of Trade Union Policy and Action in Preparation for the Seventh World Trade Union Congress." (It was published in WFTU's "World Trade Union Movement," No. 6-7, June-July 1969.) The document is divided into four sections: "The Modern World in which the Unions Work"; "The Role and Work of the Unions in the Modern World"; "The WFTU Today"; "For Unity of the International Trade Union Movement." Although the chapter titles suggest discussion of proposals to remedy the real social and economic problems of today, most of the paper, couched in class-conflict terms, is an ideological harangue. Its main theme is anti-imperialism -- the need for workers to unite against world imperialism, headed by the United States. Its simplistic analysis of modern problems ignores many of the perplexing dislocations in highly developed countries caused by technological change and shrugs off the importance of other factors, such as population growth, in the case of underdeveloped countries -- "... underdevelopment exists only because the world is divided into antagonistic classes, because of exploitation by imperialist circles supported in certain cases by internal reactionary forces." On May 30 L'Unità reported that at the Executive Committee meeting Luciano Lama, representing the CGIL, criticized the document for not adequately addressing itself to the new demands on trade unions posed by the present world situation, for ignoring the existence of problems in the socialist countries, and for attempting to lump together high disparate parts of the world in its programs instead of regionalizing its activities. (L'Unità article is attached.)

Louis Saillant, WFTU's Secretary General since the organization's founding, sounded a similar note in the editorial he wrote for "World Trade Union Movement," No. 5. Although working class ideas need to be publicized, Saillant said, publicity work is not the main task of an international trade union organization. "The life of an international trade union organization ... cannot be based purely on propagandist, rhetorical activities.... I believe that in the future real qualitative value will be expected more and more.... To rest content with propaganda clichés which were useful at a given point of time, but which are today -- first and foremost in the minds and understanding of the workers themselves -- clearly inadequate, would be a fatal mistake for any trade union organization and would trail far behind the times."

With his announcement of retirement following so soon upon these words, Saillant's editorial was in effect a swan song. However, the Italian-led faction has not given up the fight for changes in WFTU, and it has been the Italians, rather than Saillant, who have pushed the hardest and the longest for reform.

At the 7th Congress of the CGIL held in Livorno June 16-21, the CGIL General Secretary Agostino Novella promised that at the forthcoming WFTU Congress,

the CGIL will strive to give WFTU a new role. Novella said that each of the major international trade union centers was a captive of its particular political ideology and none had provided action that would lead to new forms of unity and an adequate response to capitalism. The CGIL, he said, is the first organization to conduct within its international organization "a coherent battle to bridge the old ideas and to create within the WFTU conditions for thoroughly adapting it to modern times."

In his speech Novella inferred that the CGIL has considerable support within WFTU for its reform movement and described a mood of critical rethinking due to WFTU's slowness in facing up to the new world situation. He was probably exaggerating, although it is difficult to estimate how far the restiveness does extend. In addition to backing from West European delegations, the CGIL may find some support from Cyprus and Rumania. At the Executive Committee meeting in May, the Cypriot representative, Andreas Ziartides, and the Rumanian representative, Gheorghe Apostol, strongly urged that WFTU give more attention to real trade union issues and regionalize more of its activities. (L'Unitá, May 31 and Agerpres, May 30). Also, there may be some significance in the fact that the Japanese, Finnish and North Korean representatives abstained from voting on the final resolution of the WFTU General Council meeting in December, and the Ceylon representative voted against it.

#### Other Business Before the Congress

The situation in Vietnam is on the agenda and the Seventh Congress can be expected to issue a resolution calling for the withdrawal of American forces. The Congress will also discuss plans for special activities in 1970 to mark the 25th anniversary of WFTU and the centenary of Lenin's birth.

October 1969

WFTU IN AFRICA AND THE ARAB WORLD

The two principal trade union federations in Africa and the Arab World are the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), with headquarters at Cairo, and the All African Trade Union Federation (AATUF), with headquarters at Dar-es-Salaam. Prior to the downfall of Nkrumah, AATUF had its headquarters in Ghana and during that period, operating under Soviet and WFTU influence, AATUF openly advocated revolution in the name of the workers and emphasized the political role of trade unions, neglecting or ignoring their economic functions. At that time WFTU was less interested in having African trade unions join it; rather it encouraged them to join the AATUF and adhere to its policies. Through AATUF, WFTU offered African trade unionists training courses in Moscow and in Bernau, East Germany which lasted up to 9-18 months, and in which they were indoctrinated in Marxism-Leninism and taught techniques of riot and subversion. After AATUF moved to Dar-es-Salaam, following Nkrumah's downfall, the Soviets and WFTU lost much of their influence over AATUF, although contacts were maintained. To compensate for this loss, WFTU has sought direct contacts with African national trade unions and, despite AATUF's ban on dual affiliations, it has succeeded in enlisting nine members of AATUF as affiliates of WFTU. In addition, it announced in May of this year that two more African trade unions from Nigeria and Congo-Brazzaville had joined WFTU. Thus, WFTU is laying the foundation for again acquiring a powerful voice in AATUF.

The first important cooperation between WFTU and the Arab federation, ICATU, was in January 1964, when the two organizations set up an International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Aden, and the WFTU was given an influential role in the committee's activities. This was followed by numerous visits by trade union delegates from the Soviet Union and East European communist countries to Arab countries and return visits by trade union delegations from Arab countries to the Soviet Bloc. ICATU sent a delegation to a meeting of African, Arab and European trade unionists in Budapest in December 1966 and participated in a joint WFTU-ICATU meeting in Prague during the same month. In April 1967 WFTU sent a delegation to the UAR, and then, following the June Arab-Israeli War, WFTU delegations visited the UAR and the Sudan in July, Syria in August, the Sudan again in September, and Syria again in December. During 1968 the Soviet trade union federation, AUCCTU, under the astute direction of Alexander Shelepin (member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and former chairman of the KGB), was very active in establishing direct contacts with Arab trade unionists. Twenty delegations from Arab states, representing different branches of industry and agriculture, visited the Soviet Union, and Soviet trade union delegations made return visits to the Arab States. A high-level Soviet trade unionist (a Secretary of AUCCTU) took part in the Congress of the General Federation of Workers' Trade Unions of Syria, in September 1968, and assured the Syrian trade unionists that the Soviet Union is solidly behind "progressive Arabs."



In March 1968 WFTU held in Bulgaria a meeting of solidarity with the Arabs in the Arab-Israeli dispute that attracted delegations from the Arab national trade unions. WFTU achieved an important objective at this meeting when the participants agreed to set up a permanent committee of ICATU and WFTU representatives. The committee came into being in May 1968, holding its first meeting in Cairo, and announced that henceforth it would meet twice a year, alternating between Cairo and Prague, for the purpose of consolidating WFTU-ICATU cooperation, organizing conferences, and planning pro-Arab publicity (in the Arab-Israeli dispute) in various parts of the world.

In January 1969 ICATU held a congress of its members in Cairo that was attended by high-level Soviet and East European trade union delegations. The Soviet delegation was led by Shelepin. Although the Bloc delegations were supposed to be attending as observers, Tass announced on January 28 that the Soviet representatives "will take part in the work of the ICATU congress."

WFTU has also succeeded in establishing contacts with the Arab Federation of Petroleum Workers, which is allied with ICATU. In April 1968, WFTU and the Petroleum Federation jointly held in Algiers an Anti-Monopolist Conference of Petroleum Workers of the Mediterranean, Black Sea and Middle East, which drew participants from Algeria, Aden, Morocco, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, USSR, Rumania, Bulgaria, Syria, Iraq, UAR, Jordan, Kuwait, South Yemen, Lebanon, and the Sudan. The Conference set up a permanent committee to organize future meetings of broader composition. The permanent committee was composed from the delegations of Algeria, the UAR, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Iraq, France and Italy. The prominent role taken by French and Italian delegates at the Anti-Monopolist Conference, and their assignment to the permanent committee indicates that the Soviet Union wants West European Communists to play a large role in Middle East trade union conferences and in furthering WFTU's contacts in the area.

Thus far WFTU has not been very successful in enlisting Arab national trade unions as its members. Except for overlapping between ICATU and AATUF (Algeria, Morocco and the UAR belong to both organizations), the ICATU strongly disapproves of dual affiliations, and thus far only the Sudanese, Syrian, and Iraqi trade unions have joined WFTU. Nevertheless, WFTU has won an important foothold in Middle East labor. ICATU's agreement to sponsor trade union conferences jointly with WFTU virtually guarantees better attendance than the latter could muster on its own. Judging by past performances, their joint conferences will stress emotional political issues rather than genuine trade union subjects, and they will contribute to the tensions in the Middle East. WFTU can also be expected to continue pouring out a stream of anti-Israel propaganda, as it has done since it stepped up its efforts to penetrate the Middle East.

"The WFTU Cannot Ignore the New World Reality"

by Sergio Mugnai

CPYRGHT

[Excerpts]

"The WFTU cannot close its eyes to the new world reality," Luciano Lama told the World Federation of Trade Unions' executive board meeting, which opened on 28 May in Bucharest. "Shutting our eyes to conflict will not help us over it," added the spokesman for the CGIL Confederazione Generale del Lavoro - General Confederation of Labor.

The executive board opened its 36th session with a report from Pierre Gensous. The meeting was called to lay the groundwork for the organization's 7th Congress, which will be held in Budapest next October.

Comrade Lama, CGIL Secretary, observed that the document as a whole, and specifically in several sections, fails to provide an adequate response to the new demands which the huge development of union struggles and achievements, the expanded role and power of the unions, and the unprecedented drive for unity place before the labor movement.

"In the first place," he said, "it seems to us that the picture of world reality is oversimplified and thus confused by following patterns which the increased awareness and experience of the working masses can no longer accept uncritically.

"Our world today is shaken by a profound crisis," Lama continued, "and by conflicts that have laid its defects and short-comings bare. While science and technology take giant strides forward, two thirds of mankind lives in poverty and hunger. As the struggle for peace wins new consciences to its side, the arms race squanders a huge portion of the world's resources. Tensions are heightening, new hot-points of war are breaking out, and the peace of the world is hourly endangered. Underlying this situation is the pitiless logic of capitalism and its imperialist domination. To keep itself in power, capitalism imposes upon the developed nations tyrannical regimes and corrupt oligarchies, and resorts to violence or barbarous aggression, as in Vietnam.

"The spread of socialism in the world and the modification of overall objective conditions begets a crisis which imperialism and capitalism cannot overcome. But the emergence of new problems for the forces fighting for national liberation, for economic and political independence, and for social emancipation, along with the persistence of contradictions and conflicts among socialist countries, are also aspects of the world reality which the World Federation of Trades Unions cannot ignore.

"There is no escaping the need for probing more deeply into this reality by making vague, general statements about what ought to be, rather than what is. We are in agreement, for example, on the principles of independence, of national autonomy, and of union rights which are set forth here, but we still feel that the events of last August in Czechoslovakia have gravely damaged and seriously contradicted those principles.

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"Closing our eyes to these conflicts is no way to settle them. We do not believe it is scientifically correct to portray a situation in which the world is divided into two great opposing blocs, one of which is constantly winning and steadily moving forward, while the other is constantly held in check. The real state of affairs is more complex than that. The victories and the successes scored by the progressive and anti-imperialist forces are not unmingled with frustrations and defeats. The WFTU must be able to look these facts squarely in the face, to analyze their causes, and find a way to overcome difficulties and conflicts so as to make the labor movement's struggles more effective."

Emphasizing the point that the struggles call for huge, united mass movements under profoundly different conditions, the CGIL secretary observed that the way the report is organized makes it avoid one area of reality. What it does is to divide the world into three parts, three groups of countries: the socialists, the advanced capitalists, and the under-developed. This breakdown gives evidence of hasty, makeshift organization. How can you possibly lump together continents like Asia, Africa, and Latin America, when there are profound political, economic, and social differences among them? When the CGIL approaches the problem of articulating labor policies, it considers these profoundly different realities. It considers the great regions that have a degree of economic and social homogeneity; it is mindful of the need to make union action incisive, unity of action workable, and mass movements and struggles effective.

"Regionalization, as we conceive of it, is the contrary of a prefectorial regime on a global scale. It is the contrary of organizational atomization."

L'UNITA, Rome  
30 May 1969  
Italian CP daily

### Discorso di Lama all'Esecutivo riunito a Bucarest

# La FSM non può ignorare la nuova realtà mondiale

Chiudere gli occhi di fronte ai contrasti non aiuta a superarli

CPYRGHT La questione cecoslovacca — Il processo unitario in Italia e  
in Europa — Fermenti nuovi nella CISL internazionale

#### Dal nostro corrispondente

BUCAREST, 29

Con un rapporto presentato da Pierre Gensous sono cominciati ieri i lavori della 36. sessione del Comitato esecutivo della Federazione sindacale mondiale dedicata alla preparazione del VII congresso, che si terrà a Budapest nel prossimo ottobre.

Il compagno Luciano Lama, segretario della CGIL, ha osservato che il documento, nella sua parte generale, è di

particolare nei capitoli successivi, non riesce a offrire una risposta adeguata alle esigenze nuove che l'imponente sviluppo delle lotte e delle conquiste sindacali, la dilatazione del ruolo e del potere dei sindacati, la nuova carica unitaria senza precedenti, pongono al movimento sindacale. Ci pare in primo luogo — egli ha detto — che la rappresentazione della realtà mondiale sia semplificata e quindi mistificata secondo schemi che

rienza delle masse lavoratrici non può più accettare acriticamente.

Il mondo di oggi — ha sottolineato Lama — è scosso da una crisi profonda, da contraddizioni che mettono a nudo le sue tare. Mentre la scienza e la tecnica compiono progressi immensi, due terzi del genere umano vivono nell'indigenza e nella fame. Mentre la lotta per la pace conquista nuove coscienze, la corsa al riarmo sperpera una parte im-

portante delle risorse del mondo. Crescono le tensioni, si accendono focolai di guerra e la pace mondiale è ogni giorno in pericolo. Alla base di questa situazione, vi è la logica spietata del capitalismo e della sua dominazione imperialista. Questo, per mantenere il suo dominio, impone ai paesi sviluppati regimi tirannici, oligarchie corrotte, ricorre alla violenza o all'aggressione barbara come nel Vietnam.

L'estendersi del socialismo nel mondo e il modificarsi del-

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le condizioni oggettive generano una crisi insuperabile dell'imperialismo e del capitalismo. Ma il sorgere di problemi nuovi anche per le forze che lottano per la liberazione nazionale, per l'indipendenza economica e politica, per l'emancipazione sociale e il permanere di contraddizioni e contrasti tra paesi socialisti, rappresentano essi pure aspetti della realtà mondiale che la Federazione sindacale mondiale non può ignorare. Non si può eludere — ha detto Lama — l'approfondimento della realtà con le definizioni generali che in vari casi dicono ciò che dovrebbe essere e tacciono ciò che è. Noi siamo, per esempio, d'accordo sui principi di indipendenza, di autonomia nazionale e sindacale che vengono proclamati, ma continuiamo a ritenere che gli avvenimenti dell'agosto scorso in Cecoslovacchia hanno ferito e contraddetto gravemente questi principi.

Chiudere gli occhi di fron-

te ai contrasti non ci invita a superarli. Non ci pare scientemente corretto rappresentare una situazione in cui il mondo è diviso in due grandi schieramenti contrapposti e dove l'uno consegue incessantemente successi e avanzate e l'altro è tenuto in scacco permanentemente. La realtà è più complessa. Infatti, alle vittorie e ai successi registrati dalle forze progressiste e ant imperialiste si accompagnano anche arretramenti e sconfitte. La Federazione sindacale mondiale deve sapere guardare in faccia questa realtà per analizzarne le cause e mettersi in grado di superare difficoltà e contraddizioni e rendere più efficace la lotta del movimento sindacale.

Rilevando che le lotte asinon grandi movimenti di massa e unitari in condizioni profondamente differenti, il segretario della CGIL ha osservato che il documento nella sua articolazione segue uno schema che elude una parte

della realtà. Esso infatti divide il mondo in tre gruppi di paesi: quelli socialisti, quelli a capitalismo avanzato, quelli sottosviluppati. Già questo schema rivela per lo meno improvvisazione. Come è possibile mettere sullo stesso piano continenti come quello asiatico e latino-americano e quello africano, quando fra questi continenti esistono differenze profonde sul piano politico, economico, sociale? Quando la CGIL pone il problema della articolazione delle politiche sindacali pensa a queste realtà profondamente diverse. Pensa alle grandi regioni che hanno una certa omogeneità economica e sociale; pensa alla necessità di rendere incisiva l'azione sindacale, efficace l'iniziativa unitaria, di massa, il movimento e la lotta.

La regionalizzazione che concepiamo è il contrario di un regime prefettizio a livello mondiale. È il contrario della frammentazione dell'organizzazione.

Dopo avere caratterizzato il processo unitario sviluppatosi in Italia quale risultato di un processo autocritico dell'intero movimento sindacale, il compagno Lama ha sottolineato il fatto che lo spirito unitario a livello nazionale progredisce anche a livello europeo, dove è in atto un ripensamento autocritico. Nei due congressi tenuti rispettivamente all'Aja e a Bruxelles, della CISL europea e della CMT, non solo è caduto il veto, che solo qualche mese fa era stato rinnovato, ad eventuali rapporti degli organismi comunitari con il segretariato CGIL - CGT, ma si sottolinea «l'attualità della questione delle relazioni con le organizzazioni di altre tendenze e si considera che la possibilità e l'opportunità di queste relazioni devono essere viste in funzione del comportamento concreto delle organizzazioni in causa e nell'imperativo dell'azione sindacale da condurre».

Translated from Vorwärts, Bad Gadesberg

14 August 1969

official SPD Weekly

#### WFTU RIGS POLITICALLY - INFLUENCED MEDICAL DIAGNOSIS

The Seventh Congress of the

World Federation of Trade Unions in Budapest

by Walter Osten

CPYRGHT

More than 500 delegates from 124 countries will gather for the Seventh Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) on 17 October. If one accepts the claims of the organizers of the last congress, 150 million trade unionists were represented four years ago, though 20 million of these were not affiliated with WFTU. Although the trade unions of (Communist) China, Albania, North Korea, and Indonesia have put their WFTU affiliation in doubt by stopping payment of membership fees, the new congress can be counted upon once more to claim [ed.: even] larger membership figures. Even if one does not fully accept these claims, WFTU is nevertheless the largest trade union organization. At the last congress of the [ed.: non-Communist] International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in Brussels, 100 organizations from 70 countries were gathered representing 50 million members.

On the agenda for the (WFTU) congress are: the activity report of the General Council; the situation of the working class; and the role of the trade union movement. Even the deliberations on the first agenda item are expected to bring to light the problems which brought this organization close to a split during the last few years. Closely related to these problems is the need to appoint a new Secretary General. According to [ed.: the East German] Neues Deutschland, Louis Saillant (of France) informed the WFTU Executive Committee in early June that during the congress "he would not seek re-election to the position of Secretary General, because of his state of health and the advice given him by his doctors".

"The doctors" who gave this advice are probably from Moscow and East Berlin. Although not a member of the Communist Party of France, Saillant pushed the policy line of Moscow with skill and zeal for two decades. During the entry of Soviet troops, at which time he was in Prague, the seat of WFTU, Saillant suddenly remembered that his organization should stand for the "territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty of states", according to the program of the WFTU Congress of 1961. During the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, the leadership of the [ed.: West] German Metal Workers Union received a statement from the WFTU Secretariat which said: "WFTU condemns the military invasion; it is in conflict with all the principles on which the WFTU is founded, principles which were accepted by the national centers of WFTU and by its members organizations".

The faux pas has since been corrected. Saillant was removed from the secretariat and was forced to play sick; agents of the Soviet trade unions and the [ed.: East German] FDGB leadership took over power in WFTU. Thus the organization was brought again into line. Saillant has not retracted his statement [ed.: against the Soviet invasion of the CSSR]. That's why he had to go.

Two other problems which have shaken WFTU are almost more important still. As in the Communist [ed.: Party] world movement in general, the Chinese and their full or partial allies accused the Communist trade union leaders of WFTU of "reformism". When they demonstrated at the last session of the Executive Committee [sic]\* in "extra-parliamentary opposition"-fashion, they were excluded from the session by the majority. Thereupon, they cut off their payments to WFTU. This forced WFTU to reduce its apparatus by closing its liaison offices in New York and New Delhi and by dropping the Chinese and Japanese editions of its publication World Trade Union Movement.

In addition to Moscow's opposition to Peking, there are the differences between trade unions of the Socialist countries oriented along Soviet lines and the Communist trade unions of Western Europe, mainly the Italian CGIL and the French CGT. In these influential trade union organizations, left-Socialist forces are still active, especially in Italy. Moreover the Communist leaders of these trade unions agree with Togliatti's criticism of WFTU in his "Testament", made shortly before his death. This conflict reveals itself in the reserved attitude of the Soviet Union [ed.: towards the West European Communist-oriented unions], in the never-ending controversies over the cooperation of WFTU trade unions in the European Common Market countries, and in the direction which these trade unions are following in their economic struggles.

Many circles, including the free trade unions, greeted the founding of WFTU in 1945 with hopeful feelings. The initiative for its founding came from the British Trade Unions, which called the first trade union conference in London in February 1945 before the war was over. They hoped then that the Communists had learned from the experiences of the "Profintern", the international trade union organization of the Comintern, but that hope was soon dashed. The [ed.: American] Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) also affiliated with the newly founded WFTU.

\* Ed.: the WFTU 6th Congress (1965) is the meeting at which these occurrences took place.

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With the membership from the "Peoples Democracies" and from the Soviet Trade Unions, the Communists had the upper hand in the new organization from the start. Efforts by non-Communist delegates during the WFTU founding congress in Paris to declare WFTU expressly as a non-political trade union organization failed. Although the British trade union leader, Citrine and the Frenchman, Louis Saillant were elected at this congress President and Secretary General respectively, the first symptoms of the later split appeared already at that congress.

### The Split of 1949

The Federation lasted only slightly more than 3 years. When Moscow warned Communists in Warsaw and Prague not to accept the Marshall Plan and when the two most important Western trade union organizations -- the CGT and the CGIL -- split, the hour of crisis for WFTU had struck. Representatives of the British Dutch and American unions walked out of the Executive Committee session in January 1949; in December 1949, they founded the ICFTU.

WFTU was thus again reduced to the level of the Profintern: a trade union organization which was to serve as a "transmission belt" of the Communist parties to the masses. With this development, the old problems, which have characterized the relationship of the Communists to the trade unions over the years, resurfaced: the claim to leadership of the Communist parties over the trade unions; the general question of how far trade union struggles could lead to a real improvement of the standard of living of the masses in a capitalist society; the question of how far the so-called "pauperization theory" in its absolute form is still valid today; the question of how much trade union struggles can benefit the proletarian revolution; and the general question of how far unions should become active politically. A new problem arose regarding the position of trade unions in the so-called socialist countries.

With respect to matters of party-trade union relationship, the Leninist theory of trade unions as a "transmission belt of the party to the masses" developed in WFTU. This role is a somewhat complicated one, because members in a number of national trade union organizations were also active as members in other than Communist parties. However, the higher the level of functionaries in WFTU, the clearer was the application of the "transmission belt" concept. Where required, this effort was supported by the work of the Communist Party element [ed.: in WFTU].

The validity of the theory of the absolute pauperization of the proletariat is a controversial question in WFTU today. Theoriticians of the Moscow-line fully defend this theory today. The SED [ed.: East German Communist Party] journal, Political Economy, calls the improvement of the workers' situation in the capitalist system "an invention of bourgeois economists and of the revisionists." Seen from this viewpoint, the trade union struggle would appear to be a purely defensive struggle against the inevitable worsening of the standard of living of the toiling masses. Trade unions leaders in capitalist countries could not accept this theory for their policy guidance, as it not only paralyzes all trade union aspirations but also contradicts the reality which they themselves have helped create. However, their efforts toward having this theory abandoned in WFTU have failed so far.

Finally, tension developed between trade unions in Communist countries and those in the West. The difference in the roles of trade unions in countries in which private ownership of the means of production has been abolished and of the trade unions in capitalist countries is not the

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only point in question. There is also the question whether trade unions in Communist countries must limit themselves to be executive organs of the state bureaucracy or if they should assume the role of "defender of the workers against the state", as Lenin demanded in an article in 1920 on the role of trade unions in the Soviet Union. There are differences of opinion on this question in WFTU. The example of Czechoslovakia furnishes proof that this question can become an explosive one in a state ruled by the Communist party.

The WFTU is very interested in playing a political role. The General Council, elected by the WFTU Congress and supposed to convene biennially, counts 54 representatives from Communist countries in Europe alone among its 130 members. The 74 members of the Executive Committee count among them the 14 members of the Executive Bureau, all Secretaries of the WFTU Secretariat and the General Secretaries of the 11 trade departments. In practice the Executive Bureau and Secretariat decide the policy of WFTU. Although the role of the General Secretary was limited at the Fourth WFTU Congress 12 years ago to one of "primus inter pares" (first among equals) in the Secretariat, Louis Saillant dominated the policy of WFTU until the advent of his opposition against the [ed.: Soviet] invasion of Czechoslovakia.

WFTU follows the United Front policy towards other labor organizations. Under this policy, WFTU at times stresses the "Betrayal by the Reformists", while on other occasions -- as in a letter of the [ed.: West German] DGB -- the "community of views". WFTU calls for isolating those who further the split (meaning the "Reformists") on the one hand, and proposes "a united front against monopolies" on the other. Nils Elison, a WFTU Secretary, revealed this tactic in a letter to agents of his organization in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. At the time, WFTU was calling for a conference against rearming of the [ed.: West German] Federal Republic. Elison wrote:

#### Backstairs Politics

"WFTU desires to avoid appearing openly as a promoter; rather [ed.: it selects, for instance, the workers of] a large West German enterprise with a Social Democratic majority on the works council to contact other enterprises abroad. This method is conceived to lead to the formation of a joint ad hoc committee which would a) direct an appeal to the workers throughout Europe; and b) request organizational and material support from ICFTU, WFTU and the Christian Labor Federation (WCL). As if by miracle, WFTU will then join in with this initiative."

Backstairs politics of this nature characterize the [ed.: implementation of the] entire WFTU United Front policy. This policy does not serve the labor movement in its struggle; rather, it serves the political aims of the Communists -- and frequently no longer even the aims of the Communists, but solely those of the Soviet regime. Saillant denied this at the last congress, when he maintained that WFTU was "independent from all governments and political parties." The fact that he has been cashiered shows more than ever that WFTU is a tool of the Soviet government. This can only lead to an intensification of the differences between the attitudes of WFTU's affiliates in the socialist countries and those in the West and the Third World. The coming world congress should reflect this development.

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VORWARTS, Bad Godesberg  
14 August 1969

# Die Ärzte des WGB

Zum VII. Kongreß  
des Weltgewerkschaftsbundes  
in Budapest / Von Walter Osten  
CPYRGHT

Über 500 Delegierte aus 124 Ländern werden am 17. Oktober zum VII. Kongreß des Weltgewerkschaftsbundes (WGB) zusammenkommen. Wenn man die Ankündigungen der Organisatoren als wahr unterstellt, dann waren auf dem letzten Kongreß vor vier Jahren 150 Millionen Gewerkschaftler vertreten, von denen allerdings 20 Millionen nicht dem WGB angehörten. Obgleich inzwischen die Mitgliedschaft der Gewerkschaften Chinas, Albaniens, Nordkoreas, Indonesiens durch die Einstellung ihrer Beitragszahlungen fraglich geworden ist, dürfte der neue Kongreß wieder mit höheren Zahlen aufwarten. Selbst wenn man von diesen etwas abstreicht, handelt es sich beim WGB doch um die größte Gewerkschaftsorganisation. Auf dem letzten Kongreß des Internationalen Bundes Freier Gewerkschaften (IBFG) in Brüssel waren 100 Verbände aus 70 Ländern versammelt, die 50 Millionen Mitglieder vertraten.

Nach der Tagesordnung wird sich der Kongreß mit dem Tätigkeitsbericht des Generalrats, der Lage der Arbeiterklasse und der Rolle der Gewerkschaftsbewegung beschäftigen. Schon beim ersten Tagesordnungspunkt wer-

den wahrscheinlich die Probleme erörtert werden, die diese Organisation in den letzten Jahren an den Rand der Spaltung geführt haben. Mit ihnen hängt auch die Neubesetzung des Postens des Generalsekretärs zusammen. Der Franzose Louis Saillant hat dem WGB-Exekutivkomitee nach dem „Neuen Deutschland“ bereits Anfang Juni mitgeteilt, daß er „wegen seines Gesundheitszustandes und auf Anraten von Ärzten auf dem Kongreß sich nicht wieder um das Amt des Generalsekretärs bewerben wird“.

## Saillant wurde verdrängt

Die „Ärzte“, die diesen Rat gaben, dürften wohl in Moskau und Ost-Berlin sitzen. Saillant, obgleich Nichtmitglied der KP Frankreichs, hat zwei Jahrzehnte lang mit Eifer und Geschick die Politik der Moskauer Richtung vertreten. Beim Einmarsch sowjetischer Truppen, den er in Prag, dem Sitz des WGB, miterlebte, besann er sich plötzlich darauf, daß nach dem Programm des WGB-Kongresses von 1961 seine Organisation für die „territoriale Integrität, Unabhängigkeit und Souveränität der Staaten“ einzutreten hat. Damals erhielt die Leitung der IG Metall in der Bundesrepublik vom Sekretariat des WGB eine Mitteilung, in der es hieß: Das WGB-Sekretariat verurteilt die militärische Invasion, die im Gegensatz zu allen Grundsätzen und Prinzipien steht, auf denen die eigentliche Existenz des WGB beruht und die von den nationalen Zentralen des WGB und den Mitgliedsorganisationen des WGB angenommen wurden.“

Dieser Fauxpas des WGB ist inzwischen „ausgebügelt“ worden. Saillant wurde aus dem Sekretariat verdrängt und mußte den Kranken spielen; im WGB übernahmen die Vertrauensleute der sowjetischen Gewerkschaftsführung und des FDGB die volle Macht. So wurde die Organisation wieder auf Vordermann gebracht. Saillant hat seine Erklärung bisher nicht zurückgenommen. Deshalb mußte er gehen.

Fast noch wichtiger sind zwei andere Probleme, die den WGB erschütterten. Wie in der kommunistischen Weltbewegung, so warfen die Chinesen und ihre ganzen oder halben Verbündeten kommunistischen Gewerkschaftsführern des WGB „Reformismus“ vor. Als sie auf der letzten Tagung des Exekutivkomitees nach APO-Art randalierten, wurden sie von der Mehrheit von den Sitzungen ausgeschlossen. Darauf stellten sie die Zahlungen an die Organisation ein. Das zwang diese, ihren Apparat einzuschränken, die Verbindungsbüros in New York und Neu Delhi zu schlie-

ßen und die chinesischen und japanischen Ausgaben der Zeitschrift „Weltgewerkschaftsbewegung“ einzustellen.

Zu dem Gegensatz zu Peking kommt der zwischen den nach Moskau orientierten Gewerkschaften sozialistischer Länder und den kommunistisch orientierten Gewerkschaften Westeuropas hinzu, also vor allem der italienischen CGIL und der französischen CGT. In diesen einflußreichen Gewerkschaftsverbänden sind teilweise auch noch linkssozialistische Kräfte tätig, besonders in Italien. Aber auch die kommunistischen Führer dieser Gewerkschaften billigen die Kritik, die Togliatti kurz vor seinem Tode in seinem „Testament“ am WGB übte. Dieser Konflikt offenbart sich in der distanzierenden Haltung der Sowjetunion, in den jahrelangen Auseinandersetzungen über die Mitarbeit der WGB-Gewerkschaften in der EWG und in der Zielrichtung, die diese Gewerkschaften ihren ökonomischen Kämpfen geben.

Als der WGB im Oktober 1945 gegründet wurde, war er von den Hoffnungen weiter Kreise auch der freien Gewerkschaften begleitet. Die Initiative zu seiner Gründung ging von den britischen Gewerkschaften aus, die noch während des Krieges, im Februar 1945, die erste Gewerkschaftskonferenz nach London einberufen hatten. Sie hofften damals, die Kommunisten würden aus der Zeit der „Profintern“, der internationalen Gewerkschaftsorganisation der Komintern, gelernt haben. Das sollte sich bald als Irrtum herausstellen. Auch der

Congres of Industrial Organisation (CIO) trat dem neugegründeten Gewerkschaftsbund bei.

In der Organisation hatten von Anfang an die Kommunisten mit den Mitgliedern aus den Ländern der „Volksdemokratie“ und denen der sowjetischen Gewerkschaften die Oberhand. Versuche nichtkommunistischer Delegierter, auf dem Gründungskongreß in Paris den WGB ausdrücklich als unpolitische Gewerkschaftsorganisation zu deklarieren, scheiterten. Obgleich dieser Kongreß den Führer der britischen Gewerkschaften, Citrine, zum Präsidenten und Louis Saillant zum Generalsekretär wählte, zeigten sich bereits dort die ersten Anzeichen der späteren Spaltung.

## Die Spaltung 1949

Das Bündnis hielt nur etwas mehr als drei Jahre. Als der Marshallplan Moskau veranlaßte, die Kommunisten in Warschau und Prag vor einer Annahme zu warnen und die beiden wichtigsten Gewerkschaftsorganisationen des Westens, die CGT und die CGIL, sich spalteten, hatte auch die Stunde des



WGB geschlagen. Im Januar 1949 verließen die Vertreter der britischen, holländischen und amerikanischen Gewerkschaften eine Sitzung des Exekutivbüros; sie gründeten im Dezember 1949 den Internationalen Bund Freier Gewerkschaften (IBFG).

Der WGB war damit wieder auf die Stufe der Profintern herabgesunken: einer Gewerkschaftsorganisation, die als „Transmissionsriemen“ der kommunistischen Parteien zu den Massen dienen sollte. Damit wurden auch die alten Probleme wieder akut, die das Verhältnis der Kommunisten zu den Gewerkschaften seit Jahren kennzeichnen: der Führungsanspruch der kommunistischen Parteien gegenüber den Gewerkschaften, die Frage, wie weit gewerkschaftliche Kämpfe im Kapitalismus überhaupt zu einer realen Verbesserung des Lebensstandards der Massen führen können — also die Frage, inwieweit die sogenannte „Verelendungstheorie“ in ihrer absoluten Form heute noch gültig ist —, die Frage, wie weit gewerkschaftliche Kämpfe für die proletarische Revolution nutzbar gemacht werden können, und die Frage, wie weit Gewerkschaften überhaupt politisch wirksam werden sollen. Neu hinzu kam die Stellung der Gewerkschaften in den sogenannten sozialistischen Ländern.

Im Verhältnis Partei und Gewerkschaften setzte sich in der Organisation des WGB die Leninsche Theorie von den Gewerkschaften als „Transmissionsriemen der Partei zu den Massen“ durch. Das war nicht einfach, weil in einer Anzahl nationaler Gewerkschaftsorganisationen auch Mitglieder anderer Parteien tätig waren. Aber je höher der Funktionskreis im WGB, desto eindeutiger wurde dieses Konzept durchgesetzt. Notfalls wurde mit den Methoden kommunistischer Fraktionsarbeit nachgeholfen.

Die Frage, inwieweit die Theorie von der absoluten Verelendung des Proletariats heute noch gültig ist, ist innerhalb des WGB umstritten. Theoretiker der Moskauer Richtung verteidigen sie auch heute noch. Daß sich „die Lage der Arbeiter im kapitalistischen System bessere“, wird im SED-Lehrbuch „Politische Ökonomie“ als „Erfindung der bürgerlichen Ökonomen und Revisoren“ bezeichnet. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt wäre der Gewerkschaftskampf ein reiner Abwehrkampf gegen eine unvermeidliche Verschlechterung des Lebensstandards der arbeitenden Massen. Gewerkschaftsführer in kapitalistischen Staaten konnten diese Theorie nicht zu ihrer Richtschnur machen, da sie nicht nur alle gewerkschaftlichen Ambitionen lähmt, sondern auch der von ihnen mitgeprägten Wirklichkeit widerspricht. Aber ihre Versuche, diese Theorie im WGB zu Fall zu bringen, sind bisher gescheitert.

Schließlich ergab sich ein gespanntes Verhältnis zwischen den Gewerkschaften der kommunistischen Länder und denen des Westens. Es handelt sich nicht nur darum, daß Gewerkschaften in Ländern, in denen das Privateigentum an Produktionsmitteln abgeschafft ist, andere Aufgaben haben als Gewerkschaften in kapitalistischen Ländern. Es geht auch um die Frage, ob Gewerkschaften in kommunistischen Ländern lediglich Vollzugsorgane der Staatsbürokratie sein müssen oder gegen diese „zur Verteidigung der Arbeiter gegen ihren Staat“ auftreten sollen, wie dies Lenin 1920 in einem Artikel über die Rolle der Gewerkschaften in der Sowjetunion forderte. Auch über diese Frage gibt es im WGB Meinungsverschiedenheiten. Am Beispiel der CSSR ist bewiesen, daß sie eines Tages Sprengstoff in einem von der kommunistischen Partei beherrschten Staat werden kann.

Die Organisation des WGB begünstigt seine Ausnutzung für politische Zwecke. Im Generalrat, der vom Kongreß gewählt wird und alle zwei Jahre tagen soll, sind von 130 Mitgliedern allein 64 Vertreter kommunistischer Länder Europas. Zu den 74 Mitgliedern des Exekutivkomitees gehören die 14 Mitglieder des Sekretariats und die Generalsekretäre der 11 Berufsabteilungen. Praktisch entscheiden Exekutivbüro und Sekretariat über die Politik des WGB. Obgleich der IV. Kongreß vor 12 Jahren

die Rolle des Generalsekretärs auf die eines primus inter pares im Sekretariat beschränkte, beherrschte Louis Saillant bis zum Zeitpunkt seiner Opposition gegen den Einmarsch in die CSSR die Politik des WGB.

Gegenüber anderen Gewerkschaftsorganisationen verfolgt der WGB die Politik der „Einheitsfront“. Dabei wird einmal der „Verrat der Reformisten“, das andere Mal, wie in einem Brief an den DGB, die „Gemeinsamkeit der Ansichten“ hervorgehoben. Einmal sollen „jene isoliert werden, die die Spaltung betreiben“ (gemeint sind die „Reformisten“), das andere Mal wird ihnen eine „Einheitsfront gegen die Monopole“ vorgeschlagen. Diese Taktik hat Nils Elison, ein Sekretär des WGB, in einem Brief an die Vertrauensleute seiner Organisation in Dänemark, Schweden und Norwegen enthüllt. Damals ging es um die Einberufung einer Konferenz gegen die Wiederaufrüstung der Bundesrepublik durch den WGB. Elison schrieb:

„Der Weltgewerkschaftsbund will es vermeiden, direkt als Arrangeur in Erscheinung zu treten; vielmehr soll ein großer Betrieb in Westdeutschland mit einer sozialdemokratischen Mehrheit in der Leitung des Betriebsrats das Ganze in Gang bringen, indem er sich an andere Betriebe in anderen Ländern wendet, worauf ein gemeinsames Initiativkomitee gebildet werden soll, das dann seinerseits a) einen Aufruf an alle Arbeiter in ganz Europa richtet; b) sich an den Internationalen Bund Freier Gewerkschaften, an den Weltgewerkschaftsbund und an die Christliche Gewerkschaftsinternationale mit der Aufforderung um organisatorische und materielle Unterstützung wendet. Und so geschieht das Wunder, daß der Weltgewerkschaftsbund zustimmen wird.“

Diese Hintertreppenpolitik kennzeichnet die ganze Einheitsfrontpolitik des WGB. Sie dient nicht dem gewerkschaftlichen Kampf, sondern den politischen Zielen der Kommunisten und heute oft nicht einmal diesen, sondern nur denen der Sowjetregierung. Saillant hat das zwar auf dem letzten Kongreß geleugnet, als er behauptete, der WGB sei „von sämtlichen Regierungen und sämtlichen politischen Parteien unabhängig“. Aber gerade seine Abhalfterung beweist, daß der WGB mehr denn je für die Politik der Sozialregierung in Anspruch genommen wird. Dadurch werden sich die Gegensätze zwischen der Haltung seiner Organisationen in den sozialistischen Ländern und denen des Westens und der Dritten Welt automatisch vertiefen. Der kommende Weltkongreß dürfte diese Entwicklung widerspiegeln.